

PREFACE

114 During the years from 1911 to 1922 I lived as a missionary in the frontier region of Hsining in Northwest China. Among the peoples living in the region there were Chinese, Tibetans, Turkish-speaking Salars, Chinese-speaking Muslims, and a people who call themselves Monguors, and are called by the Chinese *T'u-jen*, a name that means "autochthones." Of these, I was most interested in the Monguors. The present study is drawn from notes written down at that time as well as from information in the local Chinese annals of the cities of the region and the annals of the Province of Kansu. During the years that I lived in the region, Hsining was the most important city of the Tibetan frontier of the Province of Kansu. It was only in 1928 that the vast frontier district was detached and formed into the new Province of Ch'inghai, with Hsining as its capital. (The Chinese name Ch'inghai is a translation of the Mongol name Kuke Nuur, Blue Lake, also rendered as Kukunor or Kokonor, the name of one of the outstanding geographical features of the region.)

It was in the winter of 1909 that I arrived in Kansu Province. This was the first year of the period of Hsüan T'ung when the "boy Emperor" P'u I, last of the Manchu sovereigns, ascended the throne. The Empire still had an external appearance of power and grandeur, but in less than three years it collapsed, the Emperor was forced to abdicate, and there began a long period of trouble and civil war. In 1911, the year of the Chinese Revolution, I was assigned to Hsining and studied Tibetan for half a year in the famous lamasery of Kumbum. I was then sent to a mission stationed in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, forty-five miles east of Hsining, where I continued the study of Tibetan for four years.

The Monguor people, with whom I came in contact in the course of my work as a missionary, seemed to me to be more interesting than the Tibetan tribes. All kinds of conflicting and incredible tales were current about their mysterious origin and their social organization, and very little was known about them. Having studied the history of religions and anthropology at the University of Louvain, and having studied the religions of China and taken the courses in Chinese at the University of Leiden in Holland, from 1908 to 1909, I was predisposed to be fascinated by the problem of the Monguors.

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123 Later I was transferred to the mission station of Hsining, where I was in charge of more than thirty small mission stations scattered all over the prefecture. I was in daily contact with Chinese, Monguors, and Tibetans, and had an opportunity to jot down notes from first hand observations. Some of the Christians were subjects of Monguor *T'u-shu* or "native chiefs," and lived in Monguor villages. As a missionary; moreover, I had a certain amount of medical work to do, and in the course of this kind of work one gains the heart and confidence of the people and becomes conversant with their most inti-

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mate personal and family problems. It so happened that during this period I was teaching geometry and algebra to the son of the highest-ranking Chinese city official of the prefecture, and thus had an opportunity to become well acquainted with all the Chinese officials and scholars of the city. As a consequence, I was often asked by village headmen, by Tibetan and Monguor T'u-szu, and by the heads of lamaseries, to help them by explaining their problems to the Chinese officials and acting as a friendly intermediary on their behalf.

Thus for a period of years my associations with Monguors were close and cordial and it was possible for me to learn something about them. On account of the pressure of my daily work, however, it was not possible at that time for me to prepare my material for publication. All that I could do was to make notes from my daily observations and scan the Chinese annals of the region. In 1922 I was transferred to the mission of Ninghsia on the borders of the Alashan Mongol Territory. In 1927-28 I went to Europe to recover from a debility caused by malaria. Returning to China, I spent the years from 1928 to 1947 in charge of different mission stations in the Hou-t'ao region on the northern edge of the Ordos Mongol territory, and could not be released to prepare publications, because of the shortage of missionaries and the trying times in which we were living. More than once I had to bury my notes and photographs, along with my other possessions, for fear of local bandits and, in later years, for fear of Japanese raids. Finally in March 1948 I arrived in Peking, hoping to prepare my material for publication. On the way, the train carrying my papers was looted by Chinese Communists in T'u-mu. One-third of the cases disappeared. Fortunately most of my notes were saved, though most of the photographs were lost.

001 In November 1948, the political and military situation in Peking having become much worse, I came to Washington in order to finish the preparation of my material and to continue research work, making use of Chinese sources in the Library of Congress. In 1949-50 Mr. Owen Lattimore invited me to take part in the program of research on the Mongol region under his direction at the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. In the following academic year 1950-51 I received a grant from the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia to enable me to complete my work. It is a pleasure to be able to acknowledge, with the appearance of this publication, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation, the American Philosophical Society, my American and Mongol colleagues at the Johns Hopkins, and especially the time and care which Mr. H. H. Vreeland 3rd devoted to helping me in the preparation of the manuscript, and Mr. Lattimore's assistance in the final editing.

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We may now summarize the general history of this area. From 116 B.C. to A.D. 1280, military colonies were intermittently established in Hsining and the country was "officially" divided into sub-prefectures; these disappeared several times and their existence was always precarious, because of the inroads of nomadic tribes; in fact the population of the country appears to have changed many times. During the Mongol dynasty (1260-1368), the entire Hsining region was for the first time firmly annexed to China by the Mongol conquerors. The Ming dynasty (1368-1644) started off with an improvement in the organization of the country, following the Chinese pattern, but was not very successful in this undertaking because of inability to prevent inroads by nomads. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911), benefiting by the experience of the Ming, succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighboring tribes of Kukuor, assigning definite territories to each of them, and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes, they were able to develop the country peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighboring tribes.

II. THE MONGUORS

The origin of the Monguor clans, of the name "Monguor," and of the Monguor language has been a puzzle for both foreigners and local people. After presenting the enigma, I shall present some data about the name of the Monguors and the solution of the language problem. I shall then deal with the historical solution of the Monguor enigma, revealing successively the origin of the Monguor clans and the time of their first settlement in Kansu, the nature of this settlement and the distribution of the Monguor clans, population figures, and the expansion of the Monguors throughout the country.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO FOREIGNERS

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Huc and Gabet, in their famous journey to Lhasa (1844-1846), record their passage through the country of the Monguors of the Three Valleys (San-ch'uan), called Dschiahours by the Tibetans and T'u-jen by the Chinese. Their traveling companion, Samdadhchiemba, was himself a Monguor, a subject of the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of the Three Valleys. Huc and Gabet describe the people as appearing to be of "Tartar" origin and their language as seeming to be a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and Tibetan.¹

Prjevalski, who traveled in the region in 1873, calls the Monguors "Daldy," describes them as more like the

¹ Huc and Gabet, *Souvenir d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Tibet, 1844-1846*, 2: 36-37, Paris, edition of 1878.

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114 Muslims than the Chinese, and says that their language is a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and unknown words.²

After his second journey in Kukunor and Tibet (1879-1880) he writes that the Daldy are called Karlun by the Tibetans and Tunschen by the Chinese and Mongols (p. 186); although he is convinced that the country of origin of the Daldy, like that of the Kirghiz, is the region of Samarkand, and that they are a mixture of the "Aryan" and "Mongol" races, but, having mingled with Chinese, the original type has disappeared; among the women, however, once in a while the genuine type is discernible (p. 188).

He notes also the legend told among the Mongols, that when Chinghis Khan ruled in the Ordos he rode so fast a horse, that in twenty-four hours he could reach Kukunor for a hunting party. Once a high official accompanied Chinghis and when he saw the country of Hsining he enjoyed it so much that he settled there with his subjects and became the founding ancestor of the Daldy tribes (p. 187).

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101 Potanin, who traveled in this region in 1884-1886, refers to the Monguors as "Shirongols." He says of them that they call themselves "Mongol" or "Chagan Mongol", (White Mongol) and that some of them call themselves "Chzhahor" (p. 374). The Chinese call them Tu-jen and the Mongols of the plain give them the name of "Daldā" (Doldo), or "Dolon helite doldo," which means the "doldo with seven languages." Potanin says that he prefers to call them Shirongol, because that word is better for use in the Russian language. He had heard this name used in the Ordos by the conductor of his caravan, "Santan Dzhimbla," who himself belonged to the Tu-jen group of Amdo. However, neither "Shirongol" nor "Daldā" is a name known by the Monguors themselves. Only Santan Dzhimbla used the name "Shirongol," explaining "Shiro" as related to "Shoro," the Mongol word for "earth" or "soil." The neighboring Tanguts, according to Potanin, called the Monguors "Cha-hor"; "Cha" meaning "Chinese" and "Hor" being the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet. This term would therefore mean "Chinese Mongols." The Shirongols call the Tagguts "Tebe" ("Tibet" is the Mongol word for "Tibetan"); they call the Chinese Ch'itai (Kitai is the Mongol form), and the Mongols of the plain "Doro gadzoren Mongol"

² Prjevalski, *Mongolie et le pays des Tanquots*, 172-173, 1880; Prjevalski, *Reisen in Tibet*, 186-187-188, Jena, 1884. For the original passages in Russian, see: N. M. Prjeval'skii, *Mongoliya i strana Tanquot*, 191-200 Moscow, State Publishers, 1946; a reprint described as "slightly abridged," of the original St. Petersburg edition of 1875; the reprint edition has a commentary by E. M. Murzaev (see p. 315 for his notes on the "Daldy" or Monguors). The second reference is to: *12 Zoisana cherez Khani: Tibet i na Tarkhor'ya Zheltai reki*, also available in a "slightly abridged" edition (Moscow, State Publishers, 1948) of the St. Petersburg edition of 1883; see pp. 264-265 of the reprint edition = 311 L.

This is the term rendered by Hue and Gabet as "Dschiahour" (see above). See also below, p. 23, n. 1.-O. L.

114 (Mongols of the lower land) (p. 375). ("Santan
101 Dzhimba" is, of course, Potanin's version of the famous
"Samdadchiemba" who had previously accompanied Huc
and Gabet.)

Potanin refers further to the opinion of Uspenski,
who disproves the theory of Prjevalski concerning the
"Daldy" or "Talat," and claims that the Daldy are the
people called by the Chinese Huang Fan and who are
the Shera-Uighurs. Potanin supposes that the Shirong-
gols probably belong to the same stock as the Shera-
Uighurs who live in the Nanshan range north of Kan-
chou and Suchou and are called Huang Fan or "Yellow
barbarians" by the Chinese. He notes that according to
the *Annals* of Suchou, the names of the Princes of the
"Yellow Barbarians" are Mongol names, and raises the
question whether the Shirongols or Monguors may not
be simply a group of these Uighurs (Yellow Uighurs)
who were first Mongolized and later strongly influenced
by the Chinese culture (p. 382). Potanin notes a tra-
114 dition which he himself heard several times and which
173 was also heard by Prjevalski that the Shirongols came
to the Tibetan frontier from the Ordos. In connection
with the fact that they are sometimes called Daldy, or
Talat, he cites from Prjevalski the fact that one of the
Ordos banners is called Talat. Potanin also notes a
tradition that the Shirongols were sent by Chingis Khan
himself to take possession of the Tibetan frontier. On
the question of the precise time of their arrival, Potanin
draws attention to three migrations from the Ordos re-
gion to the Tibetan frontier. The first of these was in
the fourth century A.D., when a large group of the
Siempi tribe of Eastern Mongolia passed through the
Ordos and migrated as far as Northern Tibet. The
second, according to the Mongol historian, Sagang Set-
sen, was in the thirteenth century, when Dorda and
Godan, brothers of Kublai Khan, were ordered by their
mother to migrate to Shera-tala (Yellow Plain) north-
west of Hsining. (According to a communication from
Father Mostaert, this story was not written by Sagang
Setsen, but added by Schmidt, his translator.) The
third migration was in the fifteenth century when a large
group of Öölöt or western Mongols came to the Kukunor
region from the north. He suggests that the Shirongols
may be the result of the mingling of the descendants of
these groups, or perhaps only of the two groups that
migrated in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (p.
280).

Potanin notes a tradition according to which the Shi-
rongols had built a large realm, the capital of which was
at Lanchou (capital of the province of Kansu); after
three mighty emperors had governed the realm in suc-
cession it was destroyed by Ghesar (the mythical Ti-
betan hero). One of these emperors was Horbende.
Potanin adds that in the Mongol chronicle *Altan Tobchi*
(Russian translation, p. 196) it is said that: "Sain Altan
Khagan destroyed the Sharegols of Amdo who lived
between Tibet and Tangut" and he supposes that the

114 Sharegols are the Shirongols, or that the Shirongols are their descendants (p. 375).

173 Potanin notes also another tradition that the founder of all the families of Monguor T'u-szu, or chieftains, was Li, prince of Chin; according to this tradition the present T'u-szu family of Li represents the direct line of descent, while the other T'u-szu families are collateral descendants. Li, Prince of Chin (an ancient name for the northern part of what is now the Province of Shansi; a region frequently held by Turkish tribes during the early middle ages), was a high official at the court of one of the T'ang emperors. For misbehavior at an imperial dinner he was exiled to the region of Hsining. He brought Chinese to this region to develop agriculture, and built a city which became the capital of a powerful kingdom. According to some variants of the legend, the mythical Tibetan hero, Ghesar, destroyed the kingdom of the Shirongols, but according to other variants it was Li who was the founder of the Kingdom. The ancient grave of Li, Prince of Chin, is to be seen near Shandan (an old name for the city of Hsining). The stone slab set before the grave is reputed to have medicinal powers, for which reason people chip off pieces of the stone. Only about one-third of the stone still exists. Stones carved in the form of sheep are set out in rows before the grave (pp. 380-381).

114 Potanin goes on to state that there are many groups of the Shirongols, some of whom live in communities of their own while others live in mixed communities. Among the Shirongols of San Ch'uan there are families of Tibetan and Chinese origin, while on the other hand some of the Shirongols have become Tibetanized. In the succession to the chieftainship, he says, the eldest son inherits, while his brothers sink into the rank of commoners. In some groups there is no chief, the people, after accusing the chief of imposing too heavy land taxes and feudal services, having become ordinary Chinese subjects. Potanin was not able to find out how many of the original eighteen groups of Shirongols still existed in his time. According to his information, the Shirongols were allowed to sell their fields to members of the same group, if they had the permission of their chief.*

000 W. W. Rockhill writes of the Monguors:

In western Kan-su these Tu-jen alone use cave dwellings; such dwellings are found among all these people, and also, I have heard said, among the Tibetan tribes living west of Sung-p'an-t'ing. The question suggests itself whether these tribes did not teach the Chinese to make such dwellings and furthermore whether these people, these Tu-jen, are not of the same stock as the now extinct Man-tzu cave makers of western Sze-ch'uan (pp. 72-74). Their language is as I thought about eight-tenths Mongol.

* G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya* (The Tangut-Tibetan frontier of China and Central Mongolia), 1893 (in Russian). An abridged edition was published in 1950 (Moscow, State Publishers), and is the source which I have used here. The passages cited were kindly translated for me by F. J. Spriet, pp. 374, 380-384.

100 the residue being Tibetan. Chinese and to the best of my knowledge a heretofore unknown lingo, probably the original language of the Tu-jen of this part of the Empire (p. 106).⁵

114 In his *Land of the Lamas* the same author asserts that the Dschiahours of the Three Valleys encountered by Huc and Gabet are White Mongols, whose early home was probably in the Ordos (p. 43). He quotes the *Huang Ch'ing Chih Kung Tu* (eighteenth century) as mentioning a number of Mongol tribes living in the southern portion of the Nienpei district in Sanch'uan. The same work mentions (5: 55) a tribe called Tungkou living in the same district whose chieftains bear the family name of Li and who descend from Li K'oyung, a Shat'o Turk and famous warrior of the T'ang period (p. 44). Rockhill also quotes from the dynastic history of the T'ang dynasty the tribal name Kolu, which he identifies with the Karluk Turks, northeast of the present Urumchi, in Sinkiang. These Kolu submitted to the Tibetans, and Rockhill believes that they may be the later "Tungkou," suggesting that *tung* is Chinese for "eastern," and *kou* a contraction of "Koulu," a variant of "Kolu" (p. 45).⁶

101 Among the more recent travelers, the region was visited by W. Filchner and A. Tafel. In 1906 Filchner published an account of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum, the value of the volume consisting chiefly in the photographic material.⁷ Tafel, although he gives interesting data about the "T'u-ren," and mentions the legends of their T'u-yü-hun, Shat'o, or Hsi Hsia origin (p. 248), mentions their submission to the Ming and notes that the Li T'u-ssu is the most outstanding among the T'u-ssu (p. 250), does not solve the problem.⁸

Comte de Lesdain, in his journey from China through the Ordos to Tibet and India, described the country as "inhabited by the old aborigines of Kansu province, who are the most authentic remainder of the primitive race from which the Chinese spring."⁹

P. K. Kozlov, who traveled in 1907-1909, wrote of the "Donger-wa" or "people of Donger," namely, the Monguors, that they might have originated as a mixed breed of Chinese and Tanguts; and that their language was closely akin to Mongol, but with an admixture of Chinese and Tangut words.¹⁰

⁵ W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet, 1891-1892*, 73-106, Washington, Smithsonian Instn., 1894.

⁶ W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, New York, 1891.

⁷ W. Filchner, *Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet*, Berlin, Mittler, 1906; also *Om mani padme hum: meine China- und Tibetexpedition 1925-28*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1929.

⁸ A. Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, Stuttgart, Union deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1914.

⁹ *From Peking to Sikkim through the Ordos, the Gobi desert, and Tibet*, New York, Dutton, 1908.

¹⁰ P. K. Kozlov, *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Charachoto*, 136, Berlin, Neufeld und Henius, 1925. The original Russian edition is: P. K. Kozlov, *Mongoliya i Amdo i mertvyi gorod Khara-Khoto*, Moscow-Petrograd, State Publishers, 1923, reprinted 1948.

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101 Reginald Farrer, who was in the country in 1915, writes that "Here and there all over China occur these queer little outcrops of dying races from of old," and that the "Turan," or "Children of Earth," "pervade just this one small spot on the face of China, a curious race, wholly unlike the Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Mohamedans, if only in the fact that they are very dark and very dense with curly black hair."¹¹

Frederick Wulsin wrote of the Monguors that "Some have suggested that the T'u-run (speech) is very old Mongol and others that it is based on the Shat'o Turkish dialect. The present To-run might be descended from immigrants belonging to one or the other of these races. The information now at hand does not justify me in expressing an opinion."¹²

This last citation may be taken as an appropriate summing up of the fact that the Monguors have always been an enigma to foreign travelers.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO THE LOCAL PEOPLE

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173 The Monguors have, however, been as much an enigma to their Chinese neighbors as they have been to foreigners. The Chinese name T'u-jen means, as has already been explained, "autochthones" or "aborigines," and under the influence of this term the popular explanation of the Chinese of the region is that the Monguors are descendants of the first inhabitants of the country who built the oldest villages and cities, occupied the most fertile valleys, dug the irrigation canals and then were conquered and subjugated by the Chinese at some very early historical period.

Another Chinese tradition, however, is that the Monguors are of Mongol stock and settled in the region where they now live, during the Mongol dynasty, between 1260 and 1368. Still another tradition is that they are Mongols who were settled as garrisons in Yunnan Province, under the Mongol dynasty, but on the fall of that dynasty were moved to Hsining and settled there at the orders of the Ming dynasty. Yet another Chinese tradition is that the Monguors are all of Shat'o Turkish stock and arrived in the Hsining region during the T'ang dynasty (618-906); but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming dynasty. While living in the region, I also heard it said by learned Chinese who had won literary honors under the Manchu Empire that the Monguors were not a homogeneous people, but included descendants of the T'ulu-fan of Turkistan, remnants of the medieval T'u-yü-hun (Siernpi) tribes, and even fragments of old Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes. Such Chinese were prone to say in addition that the T'u-ssu or hereditary local chiefs were not of the same origin as any of their subjects, but that they

¹¹ Reginald Farrer, *The rainbow bridge*, 75, London, Arnold, 1921.

¹² Frederick Wulsin, Non-Chinese inhabitants of the province of Kan-su, China, *Amer. Jour. Physical Anthropol.* 8: 316, 1925.

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Introduction

101 This study deals with marriage among the T'ou-jen /T'u-jen/ of Kansu. The T'ou-jen in question occupy the north side of Sining River, in the prefecture of Sining and the subprefecture of P'ing-fan (Lien-tch'eng).

● 114 We hope to have this monograph followed by others, which will deal with the history of the T'ou-jen, their religious, social, and political life. Our sources for the history of this people are the great history of China, the chronicles of the towns of Kansu, and the family chronicles of one of the most powerful T'ou-jen groups, which extend over a period of more than five hundred years; our sources for the ethnology are the notes collected during the course of about ten years spent in T'ou-jen country.

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162 Of the T'ou-jen of whom we write, one group is very probably of Turkish race, and the other, without doubt, as of Mongol race. The first, of the clan of Li t'ou-se, are said to be /2/ originally Cha-t'ouo /Sha-t'o/ (1) who immigrated to the region in the T'ang period

1. Aur. Stein, Serindia, Vol. 2, p. 1129: Kao-chu-hui, when describing the journey along this border, of the Chinese mission which started from Khotan in 938, tells us: Kan-chow is the camping place of the Hui-ho (Uigurs). The mountains which are about 100 li to the south (direction of Sining; the principal habitat of the T'ou-jen is four days from Kan-chow /Kan-tcheou/) are the territory where in the time of the Han dynasty, there resided the ancient people called the little Yueh-chih. There is a race different from this people called Cha-t'ouo from the mountains of the deer forest. They are said to be descended from the Ch'u yueh race (ex. Rénusat, Ville de Khotan /City of Khotan/;

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587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

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/111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

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I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

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Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

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A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semi-agrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

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Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

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To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

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Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

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When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

Mo 60 /159 cont'd/

This evolution is most curious. It moves at an uneven rate in different clans; one would even say that it goes only in jumps. The most commonplace circumstances very often can give to the movement an impulse as vigorous as the most tragic events, and that in all senses also. I quote at random: an honorific title given by China to a powerful tribal chieftain; kin relationships of a notable T'ou-jen with an influential Chinese family; marriages with Chinese; quarrels among village heads; the senseless verdict of a Chinese mandarin who understands nothing about T'ou-jen social organization; regularly reported trips into regions with different customs; conversion to another religion; catastrophes like those of the Mohammedan revolutions, /160/ which, by decimating the people, were the cause of the adoption into certain clans of Tibetan and Chinese groups nearly as numerous as the T'ou-jen group, etc. One would say that there is very little that is constant, regular, foreseen in this whole movement, ... in this evolution.

Mo 61 This chapter on the matriarchate hence was necessary to make understood a great part of the rites and customs we have met in this study; I hope that it has helped to throw the true light, in the light of which one must see the picture which this study is, on marriage among the T'ou-jen.

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Supplementary Notes

Notes on the Tungus

T 113 The printing of the present study was drawing to a close when I was able to procure the work, made by a master's hand, of Mr. Shirokogoroff, Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus, Commercial Press, 1929. The following notes, taken from this work, will complete our study.

T 114 We distinguish among the Tungus a northern and a southern group. The northern group includes the peoples who speak or have spoken the dialects which all take their origin from a mother language,

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585 on first sight. The base of it is Mongol; what is Chinese is only acci-
 177 dental; this is the presence of the groom beside the bride and the part
 he takes in a ceremony which already used to exist.

Certainly it is hard for us to understand a wedding in which the two parties do not carry out some rite together, or at least where the two parties are not present. This, nevertheless, is what we have seen among all these peoples except the T'ou-jen and the Manchu.

585 What is the high point of the wedding among these peoples?

171 It seems to me that it is still when the bride is brought in before her parents-in-law, the members of her bridegroom's clan, and all the guests to make all alone the ritual prostrations, to pay her respects and recognize her subjection. It is precisely then that among the Mongol "the ritual prayers are read ... and all give her their blessings" (cf. p. 81), that among the Tungus of Transbaikalia "a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes" (cf. p. 183), that among the Miao "while the groom is on his knees, an old man enumerates all the duties he will have to carry out." (cf. p. 99.)

It would be very interesting for us to know these "ritual prayers and blessings given by all," these "wishes intoned by the shaman," and these "duties enumerated by the old man," for I think it is just at that moment, and at that moment alone, that the true meaning of the festive event is revealed by the wishes made and the blessings implored and wished. And from whom are these blessings awaited? Who will bring about these wishes? These wishes must present a good deal of resemblance with those /177/ made among the T'ou-jen in similar circumstances, and I cannot keep from supposing that this moment of the festival must be just as impressive and just as important in these groups as among the T'ou-jen.

585 I allow myself therefore to insist on this ceremony, all the more
 174 because it is especially with respect to it that we have the fewest details and that it is often passed by unnoticed in the things relative to marriage.

585 If one turns up one's nose at this rite, then marriage simply loses its meaning among these peoples, since it is reduced to the simple acquisition by purchase of a new member on the part of the bridegroom's family, to the discussions about the price of the girl, to

/177 cont'd/

585 the payment of the purchase price, and to the delivery of the "merchandise" by her owners; in addition one has the admission of the girl into the bridegroom's clan and the sacrifice made by her to the god of the hearth of her new family: the whole followed by a dinner and entertainment.

But finally, why spend money for a girl? Why admit a new member into the family? Why is marriage among these peoples the great work of life? They know well why, these peoples! I suppose that they say so like the T'ou-jen in the ritual prayers, in the blessings: that they say it to those from whom they await its realization, and that exactly at the moment when the bride makes the prostrations.

This is why I consider this ceremony as the chief ceremony in marriage among these peoples.

105 The few rare materials which this study presents to us prove amply that the civilization of the T'ou-jen is far from being homogeneous, and that we find ourselves here in the presence of cultural elements belonging to different types of culture.

/178/ After studying the history of this people in Kansu, its environment, its neighbors, its social, political, and religious life, we shall be better able to understand the complexity of its civilization and the origin of the cultural elements we find in it.

The T'ou-jen, separated radically for hundreds of years from other groups of their race, confined in a lost corner of Kansu, surrounded by peoples having a culture of a type different from theirs, and having themselves changed their kind of life since their arrival in the new habitat, present a very complex problem to us, whose data must be well known before it can be solved.

114 So we reserve our conclusions for later, trying above all to furnish as faithfully, as completely, as possible all the ethnologic and historic materials.

[4]

First Part: The Religious Customs

1. Introduction*

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*The designations (1), (2), (3), etc. do not appear as footnotes in this work, but as independent subsections, and each time under the heading "Notes." Cf. p. 17 [of the foreign text] in this chapter. [In the translation these notes will be incorporated as footnotes; hence the independent subsections with the heading "Notes" (Anmerkungen) will be eliminated.]

1. The Name of the Tujen

101
In the European literature the people of the group under consideration are usually called Tujen (Turen, T'ou-jen, T'u-jen). This is also the name usually given them by the Tsinghai Chinese. Tujen means native, man of the place. The Chinese t'u signifies place, soil, earth; jen signifies human being, man, people. The Chinese have given them this [5] name because at the time of their immigration these people were already present. They also apply this name to other peoples of the frontier region, for example, in Szechwan; no ethnic designation is expressed by it. This should not be taken to mean, however, that the Tujen are in fact the first inhabitants of that region, as P. A. Volpert has done; cf. Volpert, "Etwas über die T'u-yen, Ureinwohner Westkansu [Something about the T'u-yen, the original inhabitants of West Kansu]," (*Anthropos*, 18/19, 1923/24). According to their tradition, they likewise immigrated, but before the Chinese.

• [114]
For the rest, the following names are also used: Dalden, Dolden, Daldy (Przewalski; Grum-gržimajlo, and others); furthermore, Dchiabour (Huc and Gabet); Kansu-Mongols, Mongols of Kansu (De Smedt and A. Mostaert); Monguor (De Smedt and Mostaert). A. Mostaert would like to derive the

[5 cont.]

161 Their total number cannot be given with any precision since the official statistics are unreliable. An estimate in a Tsinghai chronicle (1943) sets [6] [map appears here] [7] their total number for Tsinghai at approximately 27,000-30,000; cf. Hsü Kung-wu: Ch'ing-hai chih-lüeh. I have lost the other most recent statistics, especially those of the periodical Hsi-pei-t'ung-hsün. The figure cited by P. M. Hermanns seems to me to be too low; see Hermanns, Nomāden, p. 30.

792 The religious and spiritual center of the Tujen in the county of Huchu is the monastery dGon-luñ, called Rēgulōñ (Rgulōñ) in the Tujen language (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 17.] The common Chinese name is Erh-ku-lung szu, more rarely, Yuning szu. Concerning the history and significance of this monastery and its Tulkus [Living Buddhas] (Ch'ang-chia and T'ukuan Hutukhtu), cf. the discussion at the conclusion of the second part.

3. Status and Task of the Investigation

114
648 There is little to report concerning research on the Tujen. European science did not become aware of this ethnic group until the second half of the last century, after the French missionaries Huc and Gabet traveled through the Koko Nor region on their Tibetan journey (1844-46) and also skirted the homeland of their guide, who was a former Tujen lama; cf. M. Huc, Travels, p. 281. After them other explorers came in contact with the Tujen, for example, Przewalski (1873), Potanin (1884), Rockhill (1891/92). D'Ollone visited a related group in southern Kansu (1906), but not the Tujen of Tsinghai. Similarly, Mannerheim stayed only among the Shera-Yöğur, with whom there is an inclination to relate the Tujen. A. Tafel made his Tibetan journey in 1905-1908 and briefly visited the Tujen in the region of the present Huchu. Filchner has not been in the region of the Tujen during his

[7 cont.]

114 travels, although he provides pictures of their dress. It is un-
648 necessary to cite in detail the literature written by these investigators. For further information, see the essay by A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu; cf. the bibliography at the beginning of this work. Mostaert, however, does not mention A. Tafel.

114 None of these explorers wanted to make special studies of the Tujen, and therefore their reports are brief and more or less general; it could not be otherwise in the case of extensive travel accounts. They are usually content with information about clothing, language, place names, and the presumed origins. The chapter that Tafel devoted to the Tujen is comparatively extensive; see Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], Vol. I, pp. 241-257. Tafel must have had good informants for him to have been able to report so reliably after his two days' stay in Wei-yüan-pu. His brief presentation, to be sure, provides a fairly adequate orientation concerning the problems connected with the Tujen, but it indulges in too many controversial hypotheses regarding the history. It, too, like the reports cited above, provides relatively little material for giving one a picture of the culture of the Tujen.

114 The actual investigation of the Tujen was first instituted
797 by the Scheutvelder missionaries, who at the beginning of our century took up their work in the Amdo region. Father De Smedt soon devoted himself to learning the Tujen language and gathered extensive linguistic material, which, together with the well-known Mongolist P. A. Mostaert, he worked up into three great works: the Phonetics (Anthropos, 24/25), the Monguor-French dictionary [8] (Peking, 1933), and the Monguor grammar (Peking, 1945). P. L. Schram studied the social conditions of the Tujen and published a monograph concerning marriage (Shanghai, 1932) (2). All these works appeared after the

2. [Foreign text p. 17.] Upon the completion of the manuscript, I learned that P. L. Schram has another monograph on the history and social structure of the Tujen in preparation.

[8 cont.]

114
[797] Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region, which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121
[177] When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115
123 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject, the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

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[8 cont.]

- 114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünwald, S. V. D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S. V. D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

- 115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulōñ, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

- 114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to 101 the Tujen villages Ghi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended [628] farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulōñ. These villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

- 115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger [776] brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[10 cont.]

124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods, a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them.

When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

[11 cont.]

114 leave of these dear people, for only a few weeks, we thought.

[115] In actual fact, however, I was not to see them again. In the autumn of the same year old Tuo died and with him a portion of ancient knowledge sank into the grave.

124 My reports concerning the life of the Tujen are therefore incomplete, because prematurely broken off. Also, the work of collecting did not proceed in order. At one time the two dictated only songs. At another time the old man told me about the customs; then I would have to be gone for a number of weeks; then again the work in the fields was so pressing that they stayed away for months. In the meantime I was able to observe a number of things myself and to check on the reports, or I met other Tujen and had them tell me things.

115 Time and again I found that the reports of the old man
124 were the most precise, the most ample, and the most reliable. Once, when I was able to observe a part of the puberty rite, the old man asked me immediately: "Well, how was it? Is it not true that I related everything correctly?" He took the position: "As an old man I do not lie anymore." Occasionally he would also say: "What I say is true; what I do not know, I do not say. Everything I tell you, I myself have experienced, led, and seen at home. Ask the others." He would also warn me about others: "What that one says is not quite accurate, he exaggerates; he is still a young man." Even among his compatriots old Tuo was regarded as an honest man; his classmate in particular emphasized his reliability. He even expressed his opinion to me whenever I said I had seen something in such and such a way: "Father, you have made a mistake." Glossing anything over for my sake was scarcely to be observed.

115 [12] Once, when he was gravely ill and unable to get up
123 for several months, I said in front of others: "What a pity if old Tuo were to die; he is such an honest, good man." This was later reported to him and it pleased him greatly. As I was once able to observe from my room without being noticed, it confirmed him in his sense of honor: "What? The Father says that I am an honest man. I owe it to myself to speak the truth."

The chief inhibition on his part consisted of the fear of ridicule. It was a long time before he was certain that I

[14 cont.]

124 the course of the day or even after several days, so far as my
126 professional work permitted. [15] I added these details to the
first report under the corresponding key words. At the beginning
I also left the Tuijen words in the text, but later I placed them
under the heading "Expressions" at the end of each chapter.
Naturally, the old man soon realized that I was primarily con-
cerned with the facts and not with the words. He surprised me
one day with the following remark, which provided the basis for
the arrangement of the whole: "So, now I will first tell you what
we do for the good fortune of the family, for the good fortune
of the individual persons, for the good fortune of the herds and
fields."

124 I added my own observations to the reports that I had taken
128 down, questioned others, occasionally compared the customs of
the neighboring groups, at times found an observation in the
literature, and added these supplementary items to each section
as special notes provided with numbers.

114 Accordingly, each chapter has two parts. The first part
128 first of all presents a brief report, then under certain key words
the details are added, and finally the word list. The source for
this part is exclusively the informant. The second part, namely,
the numbered notes, is by the author himself. They are based
almost entirely upon his own observations or other sources, which
in each case are indicated. [In the translation, the numbered
notes are incorporated as numbered footnotes. The remarks made
by the author as footnotes are indicated by an asterisk.]

124 It is not to be inferred, however, that the first, reporting
part is literal dictation which relieved the writer of any further
trouble. Rather, he had to work out everything from an
ethnological point of view with the old man through questions
repeatedly returning to the same subject, as is reflected in the
key words. At the same time, the simple and clear manner of
expression used by the old man was to be preserved as far as
possible. Again and again, I read aloud to him the individual
chapters in Chinese with the aid of my German stenogram:
"Listen! Now I shall read to you what you have said." When-
ever I had rendered something incorrectly, he would say im-
mediately: "I did not say that; the matter is such and such."

[16 cont.]

128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man design-
[198]ated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186]guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord
Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
[184]eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen.

Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the
[779]official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and
the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings
give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the
basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable
extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only
when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popu-
lar customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from lin-
guistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the
popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs,
[177]casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which
has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual
realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104 The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-
Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF.
For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced
by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The fol-
lowing table presents first the orthography used here (S), under
it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that
the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[51 cont.]

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[Foreign text pp. 52-53 cont.]
from a cow, when it is sold, is also tied to the arrow, but in no case hog bristles, as for example, L. Schram (Mariage, p. 58) maintains. L. Schram in this place generally confuses the arrow of good fortune with the spirit-spear. He designates with iang hstia a [53] "tige en fer" [iron shaft], which stands in a "gros et large socle" [large and wide base] and has a length of "deux à trois pteds" [two to three feet]. It is accorded a veneration "comme devant les esprits" [as before the spirits]. This never applies to a yañsdzia, however, but in part only to a small spirit-spear. In the case of the latter, the tip and iron foot are visible so that it gives the impression of being entirely of iron. It is likewise stuck in a large stand and may have a length of about a meter. According to my informant, the arrow of good fortune is not venerated like a spirit among the Tujen, whereas the spear is. The other statements, however, fit the arrow of good fortune.

The urn also receives additions. For instance, some kernels of grain are always thrown into it when some is sold. Furthermore, during the night when the bride is fetched, the
[575] bridegroom's family brings a hada and bran for the bride's riding animal. Part of the bran is poured into the urn and the hada is tied to the arrow of good fortune.

Safekeeping: If the arrow of good fortune was consecrated and stuck in an urn or a bushel, the latter must always stand together with the arrow in the main house on the chest in front

[650 cont.]

- 192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.
[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).
[262] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113]

1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thanksgiving of the Tujen in the Sining Region], " Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

782 [822 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]

detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon."

Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

[178]

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

Report

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The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanks-giving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

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The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[217 cont.]

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174 Now, concerning the elements which make up these customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

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756 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

1. The Belief in a Supreme God

114
771 In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished.

[538] They are available in the original texts; however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[238 cont.]

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[192] that acts, speaks, and thinks in him. This, however, is nothing other than an express possession-shamanism reduced to a simple Bushistic formula. The gurtum represents a deity.

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171 Whether one may appeal to the gurtum in the "classical" sense as a shaman is a question that can only be answered with the final clarification of the shaman concept. In the investigation of shamanism up to now there has been too much concern with its Siberian form and special emphasis on the flight of the soul into the beyond as a "classical" characteristic, especially with the "bird type" of shaman (9). This is not the place to

• [114] 9. The one-sided preference for Siberian shamanism is also unfortunately found in the excellent work by Mircea Eliade, Le Chamanisme, in which, to be sure, there are comparisons with other parts of the earth, and the "southern" and Buddhist influences are also taken into consideration, but they are dealt with only as secondary and unimportant; above all, however, the so characteristic stamp of Lamaistic shamanism in the figure of the gurtum is completely passed over.

go into this question in greater detail, which is reserved for later [239] treatment. It should nonetheless be stated in advance that the gurtum is a true shaman of the same shamanistic rank as the Siberian. Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe a gurtum will not regard him simply as one possessed. The gurtum is likewise as bound to the ritual requirements and forms as, say, his Siberian colleague: call (vision), tutelary spirit, testing, dress and equipment, ecstasy, etc. In addition, there is much to indicate that formerly he was also familiar with the flight of the soul.

PREFACE

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the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken of these historical facts in order to explain the actual religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Haining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

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The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

• [114]

The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation. [A. 1(B)]

122 It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the second part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, to Mr. Owen Latimore and his colleagues of the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, and Professor Schuyler Cammann for assistance in the final editing.

000 I owe a special debt of gratitude to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and wish to express my sincerest appreciation for

NOTE ON THE

- 114 In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to two Chinese compilations, the *Annals of the Fu or Prefecture of Hsining*, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these two works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsia chih, New annals of Hsining prefecture*, in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these

[p. 2(A)]

her considerable help graciously rendered in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours. I owe no small tribute to Miss Patricia E. Kenney who assisted in the typing with the same gladness and devotion.

L. M. J. S.

June, 1955

Arlington, Virginia

CHINESE SOURCES

"new" Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung chih*, *New collected annals of Kansu*, in 100 *chuan*, printed in the Hsuan-t'ung period (1909-1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

[p. 2(B)]

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911),¹⁷⁵ rumors upset the country for a long time, according to¹⁷⁴ which all the temples were to be confiscated and converted into schools. The Li T'u-ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser of the two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzán, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzán called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fó-ssu.

SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning monasteries built during the Yüan period, linger among the lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 li southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203-1282),¹⁷⁶ the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful¹⁷⁷ lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of¹⁷⁸ buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'ü-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding moun-

¹⁷⁵ Gunther Schuleman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Goyük and Mönke most of the lamas in duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kulemor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skya (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403-1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of Ta-pao-fa-wang, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 57).

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected completely even the existence of Lamaism before the Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG.

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13a, 13b) that

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,⁴⁰ and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368-1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403-1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitaṣa). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.

Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the barbarians, the government took advantage of them in order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shahinar].⁴¹ The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

⁴⁰ E. Bretschneider, *Medieval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

⁴¹ Shahinar disciples. Shahinads are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.¹⁰⁶ He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia.¹⁷⁵
[54]

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lama. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.¹⁰⁷ While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung.

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects*, which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.¹⁰⁸ He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hai-ssu.¹⁰⁹ He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic.¹¹⁴

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia.¹⁷⁵
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¹⁰⁶ Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 176-9.

¹⁰⁷ Huth, *op. cit.*, 282.

¹⁰⁸ Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 30 and 31, 1881-1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

¹⁰⁹ Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (3): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 148-149.

[p. 32(A)]

The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, 756 offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the deity who protected the village. 578

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain 756 was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging 292 to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger.

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because 756 they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These 571 yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say.

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is en- 756 countered a category of possessed men and women who 171 seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.³ Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,⁴ sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.⁵ They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic."

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely 114 with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* 47: 27-33, 237-248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject.

³ DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.

⁴ DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94(A)]

question of whether a substantial principle underlies the soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be re-born after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

[p. 95(A)]

When the building of the walls was finished, the images⁷³¹ having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with⁷⁸² ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir-⁷³¹ cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people⁷⁸² conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a⁷⁸⁹ new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting^[11] study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of⁷⁸⁵ the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red⁷⁹² Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

175 the eminent chiefs of the clan; and by delegating high
121 officials to present official burials and sacrifices to the
646 deceased chiefs and to read the sacrificial oration com-
709 posed by the emperor himself as a farewell to the
meritorious deceased.

These were some of the means used by the emperor to win the hearts of the Monguors and to make of them defenders of the empire.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the last part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, and to Professor and Mrs. Owen Lattimore for the help they rendered and for their assistance in the preparation of the study.

I cannot conclude without remembering with gratitude the special debt I owe to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and without expressing my sincerest appreciation of her considerable help, graciously rendered, in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

OWEN AND ELEANOR LATTIMORE

114 As the main significance of Father Schram's work is its presentation of historical and sociological material, no attempt has been made, in editing his text, to be over pedantic in the transliteration of Chinese and Mongol names of people, places, institutions or titles. We have adopted instead what we hope are rules of common sense.

For Chinese, the system of transliteration with the widest international acceptance is that of Wade, and we have used it except in the case of geographical names where there is a well-established English spelling. For instance the strict Wade transcription for the name of the city of Lanchow would be Lan Chou, but we use Lanchow because that form is internationally well established. Similarly we write Szechwan (the name of a province) instead of Ssu Ch'uan.

For transcribing Mongol (and Manchu) there is no widely accepted system, but fortunately the sounds of these languages can be indicated with reasonable accu-

NOTE ON THE CHINESE SOURCES

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In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to three Chinese compilations, the *Annals of the Fu* or Prefecture of Haining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these three works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsien chih* (New annals of Hsining prefecture) in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these "new" Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsien t'ung chih* (New collected annals of Kansu) in 100 *chuan*, printed in the Hsuan-t'ung period (1909-1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

3. *Wu liang k'ao chih* (Annals of the prefecture of Liangchow), printed in 1749, including the Annals of the subprefecture of P'ing fan.

L. M. J. S.

A NOTE ON transliterations

OWEN AND ELEANOR LATTIMORE

racy by the use of ordinary letters and without dia-114 critical marks, as in the name Monguor itself. Monguor, Mongol, and Manchu names are therefore written in this straightforward way when they can be readily identified. There is however a special problem when names in these languages have come down through a Chinese phonetic transcription. The sounds of Chinese match those of Mongol and Manchu very badly, and it is therefore frequently difficult to restore the original. In such cases we have simply written out the name in its Chinese form, using the Wade system, with hyphens between the syllables. As an example of the choices that have to be made on an *ad hoc* basis, take the name (or title) that is usually written Jenghis or Genghis. A closer rendering of the Mongol sound and spelling is Chinggis. In Chinese this becomes Ch'eng-chi-ssu.

Titles, ranks, and names of offices are here rendered in the same rule of thumb way.

[P. 4 (B)]

mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops⁰⁰⁰ had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do^{175*} people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace³⁶¹ with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple. [712]

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the^{175*} opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many³⁶¹ thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples. 795
114

In the *Annals of Hsining* (15: 2b), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,³⁰ the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

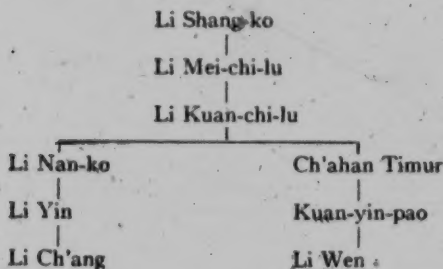
Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals of Hsining* 31B: 2a-b, 3a, 33a).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance^{175*} for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I over-¹⁶²looked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study.⁵⁶³ It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled³⁰ to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

³⁰ Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

Ch'ang and Li Wen correspond with the names encountered in the lists of the *Annals* of Hsining and Kansu.

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HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENTS

Both important documents manifest the confusion existing in the minds of the Li t'u-ssu and their subjects during and at the end of the Ming dynasty. Both Li clans claim (1) their first ancestor to have been Li K'o-yung, (2) who had received the name of Li, and (3) had been created prince of Chin by the Tang emperor. However, on the spirit way stele in the cemetery, erected in 1427, is chiseled that the original name of the Li K'o-yung clan was Topa, while the genealogical chronicle composed by Yueh Nai around 1644 records that the original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-hsieh.

114
175^x
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The Topa tribe was the leading tribe among one of the two Tibetan Tang-hsiang groups which had fled to Kansu in 627 from Sung P'an-ting (northwest Szechwan), for fear of invading T'u-fan. This group, called P'ing-hsia-p'u, was settled by the Tang emperor in the region of the present Mi Chih Hsien (northwest of Shensi). The group, during the troubles which beset the Tang empire, had founded its own Hsi Hsia kingdom, and from 982 on waged war with the Sung empire.

175^x
614

In 808 Shat'o, belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks, eluded the pursuit of Tibetans and fled from Kanchow through Huangchung and East Kansu to submit to China. They were settled in Ling Chou (Ninghsia), later in Yen Chou and still later eastward through Shansi. They were faithful warriors, who often saved the Tang dynasty. Later they founded their own ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923-947), whose first emperor originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe.

Yueh Nai, author of the chronicle, writes that the Li clan originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks. He should have known that Li K'o-yung was a Shat'o Turk, that the Shat'o group differed from the Tibetan Hsi Hsia group, and was settled in its own country granted by the emperor, and had its own history. Nonetheless he makes them move into Hsi Hsia, he records two Hsi Hsia leaders, Li Sse-kung and Li Chi-feng, as being ancestors of the Turk Li Nan-ko, and records the offering of four Hsi Hsia districts to the Sung (982) as being an act of his Shat'o ancestor.

II. THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU CLAN

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chronicles of families are important historical documents for they record trustworthy facts not included in the official histories.

175*

In the present chronicle of the Lu clan are recorded the origin of the clan, its relations with the empire, the military art of the time, the civil and military administration, the laws of succession in the t'u-ssu family, the history of the inroads of barbarians and brigands in the country, etc.

I was happy to come into possession of these Chronicles in 1916, thanks to the kindness of General Ma K'och'eng of Hsining. At that time rumors were persistently spread about the abolition of the t'u-ssu institution by the new Republic (1911). The widow of T'u-ssu Lu, a Mongol Khoshot lady, daughter of the Prince of Alashan, administered the tribe, keeping the seal, and caring for her young son. In order to ensure the succession of her son to the office of his father, she had traveled to Hsining to solicit the help of the powerful general by inviting him to be so kind as to become the boy's adoptive father, and at the same time offering him precious gifts. The general accepted the offer, and a few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to recognize the general as his father and to prostrate himself three times before him. Knowing this fact, I asked my friend the general to obtain the Chronicles for me, and so they came into my possession.

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NATURE OF THE CHRONICLES

The Chronicles, written in Chinese, consist of two small xylographic volumes. The first one consists of two sections. The first section, only 2 pages, contains a preface and the lists of the genealogies of the chiefs of the tribe to the fifteenth generation. The second section, 52 pages, starts with a preface followed by the records concerning the imperial orders sent to the clan chiefs, the titles and promotions received by them, the inroads of barbarians and brigands into their country, and the wars in which they participated until 1850.

175*
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The second volume, 20 pages, the third section of the Chronicles, starts with a preface and presents the biographies of the fifteen t'u-ssu who successively controlled the clan until 1850.

Both volumes start with the accession of the Ming dynasty in 1368 and end in 1850 on the death of the fifteenth ancestor of the clan. To each of the two volumes are added two pages, written in Chinese with a pencil, relating facts from 1851 to 1896 and adding the biographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth ancestors. The Chronicles of the Lu Clan given on page 74 seq. are a translation from the Chinese of the two xylographic volumes referred to above.

II. THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU CLAN

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

AUTHORS OF THE CHRONICLES AND THE TIME OF THEIR COMPOSITION

The preface of the first section of the first volume starts: (this is) "the genealogical register RECOMPOSED by Lu Chi-hsun, descendant of the fifteenth generation fulfilling the hereditary office of commandant, with the possession of the seal, commanding the Monguor officers and the soldiers in the commandery of Chuang Lang."

Lu Chi-hsun succeeded his father in 1792, at the age of fifteen (Vol. I, section 2, 48) and died in 1850 (Vol. I, section 2, 52). Consequently the present genealogical register must have been recomposed between 1792 and 1850.

But an earlier Chronicle had been composed. Who was its author and at what time was it composed?

In the biography of the eighth ancestor, Lu Kuang-tsu, it is said that he returned to Lien Ch'eng in 1602, retiring on account of illness from the office he held in Nanking, that he composed in Lien Ch'eng the Chronicle of the family, in three sections: he started with the imperial orders, then he continued with the biographies of the ancestors, the correspondence with the court, and then he added some things of interest, particularly about the family. He died in 1607 in his mansion of Lien Ch'eng (Vol. I, sect. 2, 42; Vol. II, sect. 3, 10). Consequently the first Chronicles were composed between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng, by Lu Kuang-tsu, and the second, by Lu Chi-hsun, were a continuation and perhaps a revision of the former ones.

In 1644 T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, ancestor of the ninth generation and successor of Lu Kuang-tsu, was killed in Lien Ch'eng by brigands. Lien Ch'eng was destroyed, the palace burned down, and the wooden blocks used for the printing of the Chronicles disappeared in the flames (Vol. II, sect. 3, 52). After the recomposition of the Chronicles by Lu Chi-hsun wooden blocks must have been carved, if not during his lifetime, certainly during and before the end of the incumbency of his successor Ju Kao (1852-1893), because the biography of Ju Kao is not printed in the Chronicle, but is added, written in pencil, after 1850.

NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF THE CHRONICLES

Who was Lu Kuang-tsu? He succeeded to the office of t'u-ssu after the death of his brother Lu Kuang-hsien, who died without issue. Before that time, having no hope of becoming t'u-ssu, he devoted himself passionately to the study of the Chinese classics and nurtured this passion through his later lifetime. People of an inferior civilization admire the higher civilizations and endeavor to assimilate them. Nomads who conquered

China tried to become Chinese, and the process of sinization was always started by the chiefs. In the t'u-ssu clans of Huangchung eminent scholars are noted. Lu Kuang-tsu was of Mongol origin and adored the Chinese civilization, becoming more Confucian than the Chinese scholars themselves. In the seven biographies composed by him, an abnormal stress is laid upon the examples of filial piety, faithfulness toward the empire, and the austerity and nobility of the ladies displayed in the family of his ancestors. The examples are noted with great care and love. He was enthusiastic about the cult of the ancestors, built an ancestral hall in 1602 in Lien Ch'eng according to the principles of the Chinese scholars and fixed the rites which should be observed in the hall at the sacrifices for the ancestors. He fervently promoted the cult of ancestors among the subjects.

No wonder that he composed a family Chronicle as a means to promote his ideal, hoping it would be read by the subjects and stimulate them to become more civilized according to the Chinese pattern. In his Chronicle nothing is noted concerning shamanism or lamaism, which were ardently practiced by the subjects. Reading the Chronicle it is useful to be conversant with the mentality of the author.

Who was Lu Chi-hsun, the author of the recomposed Chronicle? He also was a scholar, a thorough Confucianist, eager promoter and admirer of filial piety and faithfulness toward the emperor. In the biography of his father written by him, his mentality is displayed candidly and typically. He was not only a Confucianist, he was at the same time a fervent frequenter of high society. He made day and night trips to Peking to see the emperor and the splendor of the palaces. He made friendships with high officials, and was a lover of luxury, fine clothing, dinners, and songs. He had inherited these qualities from his father.

In the prefaces of the second and third sections of the Chronicles he develops the principles he recognized for their recomposition: to inform future generations about their ancestors, their glorious achievements and Confucianist virtues, in order that they might honor them and offer sacrifices to them according to the right principles; to check all the facts in order to provide posterity with authentic and genuine data; and to help the future historians with data not noted in the official history, but worth being noted.

What was the religion of Lu Chi-hsun? Was he Confucianist as well as shamanist and lamaist? Anyway he must have believed in the Living Buddhahood of his second son who controlled the monastery of Tung Erh Ku Lung which belonged to the t'u-ssu of Lien Ch'eng, and was inhabited by 500 lamas. Two other monasteries also belonged to the t'u-ssu, the Si Erh Ku Lung with 200 lamas and the Pao Nan Sse (*Annals of P'ing fan* 25a). In the city of Lien Ch'eng was a very renowned Buddhist temple belonging to the t'u-

ssu, to which was attached a lama chaplain, who every day offered incense in the temple and also in the ancestor hall to the ancestors of the Lu family. 175^x
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T'O HUAN, FOUNDING ANCESTOR OF THE CLAN

According to the Chronicles of the clan, T'o Huan is its founding ancestor. He was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty, with the title of Prince of An Ting, since 1313 (Section 1, Preface. Section 3, Biography of T'o Huan, *Yuan Shih*, Chapter 108, 3rd section 24, 27a-b). 178^x
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In 1368 the Ming emperor entered the capital of the Yuan, whose emperor had fled to Ying Ch'ang with the imperial family. T'o Huan, prevented from accompanying the emperor, arrived in Kansu in 1369. At the end of 1369 or the beginning of 1370, General Teng Yu was sent to invite him to see the emperor. He submitted to the Ming, and was ordered to muster his troops, and he followed General Su Ta in the war against K'uo-k'uo Timur, the last general of the Yuan. In 1375 he helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal). He was invited to court to receive the congratulations of the emperor, but on account of illness he could not obey the order. He died in 1376 (Section 3, biography of T'o Huan, Section 2 and beginning of Section 3, biography of Lu Yung ch'ang and letter of concubine Yang to the emperor).

His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him, became blind, and died in 1377. His second son, Kung-pu shih-tieh succeeded in 1378, and is recorded as the ancestor of the second generation. He fought brigands in 1403 and followed the expedition of the emperor against Ah lu t'ai in 1410, and died on the field of battle.

His oldest son Shih-chia succeeded him in 1412 and is recorded as the ancestor of the third generation, with the name Hsien. In 1414 he received from the emperor the name Lu. From that time on, the clan was called Lu clan (T'o Huan was a Mongol belonging to the Borjigin clan of Chingis, he had no family name).

The Chronicle records the history of T'o Huan, the founding ancestor of the clan, and that of the ancestors who succeeded him as chiefs of the clans. It does not pay attention to the other t'u-ssu of the clan, or to groups which branched off, even by sons of T'o Huan, or by members of the principal or lateral branches.

T'o Huan is recorded as having been appointed by the emperor chief of his tribes and controller of the territory he occupied during the Yuan time. 648
624

The *Annals* of P'ing Fan (1739) record only the title of P'ing-chang cheng-shih of T'o Huan, without noting the title, Prince of An Ting, granted to him by the emperor, although this important fact should have been known among the Lu Monguors. Lu Kuang-tsu, renowned scholar, had already composed his *Chronicles* between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng. The *Annals* bypass Ah-shih-t'u who had succeeded T'o Huan in 1377 and died in the same year, and record Kung- 114

generation. The two most recent studies, however, claim him to be the descendant in the sixth generation, Papala being the son of Yeh Mei Kan and grandson of Hulut'ai. Anyway, T'o Huan is a member of the imperial family of the Yuan by the Kolgan branch.

It is interesting to conclude with the note that Papala had lived and died in Lien Ch'eng. In the *Annals* of Kansu and P'ing Fan, and in the *Chronicles* of the Lu clan, it is noted that T'o Huan, after his submission, was ordered to reoccupy the old country he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. In the biography of T'o Huan (3rd section) it is recorded that he and his wife were buried in the ancestral cemetery of Hsi Ta-tung. Because it is called the ancestral cemetery, ancestors must have been buried there.

THE SONS OF T'O HUAN

The *Chronicles* of the Lu family note only two sons, Ah-shih-t'u the oldest, and Kung-pu-shih-tieh the second. The *Annals* of P'in Fan and those of Kansu, however, claim Pa chih han to be the first son of T'o Huan. In the study are noted the disastrous consequences of the submissions by T'o Huan, his first son, at the moment of the appointment of his successor as chief of the clan. In the history are noted three more sons: Hapin Timur, Wu T'u-ssu Timur and T'o-erh-chih-pa. Hapin Timur and Wu T'u-ssu Timur are proved by Hambis to belong to the line of Chagatai. T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal) is noted in Cho Kung lu as son of Pei Ta Han, in the Mohammedan sources. However, in the official history of the Yuan and the two recent historical works, he is claimed to be the son of T'o Huan. In the official history he is recorded as Prince of An Ting, without notice of the date of appointment. It is impossible that a son could have borne the title of his father during the lifetime of the father. T'o Huan died in 1376 and was still Prince of An Ting at the time he submitted to the Ming in 1368-1369. In the family Chronicle, however, are only noted the sons who succeeded to the office of supreme chiefs of the clan. It is not impossible that T'o Huan had had more sons, but that Dorjibal should have been one among them is not proved. In the family Chronicle it is noted that in 1375 T'o Huan helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol Dorjibal, who can therefore hardly have been his son. Anyway, he did not succeed T'o Huan.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER OF THE FAMILY LU

PREFACE

The genealogical register was composed by Lu Chi-hsun, descendant of the fifteenth generation, who filled the hereditary office of commander, with the possession

of the seal, controlling the Monguor officials and troops of Chuang Lang.

Families have genealogical registers as kingdoms have histories. In olden times during the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, the one hundred-twenty kingdoms each had precious books. When Ssu-Ma Ch'ien composed the Shih-chi (history) he took these books as models. The coordination of the work seemed to be so clear that future genealogical registers were built according to that model.

Ssu Ma-ch'ien composed the genealogical registers of the San Tai period (Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, 2205-250 B.C.). However, from Huang Ti on, the number of generations is hard to determine, and because of this and of the length of time elapsed the registers are contradictory and not entirely reliable. The same problem exists with the genealogical list of Ou-Yang Hsiu and of Su Shih, which were highly esteemed at that time. From Hsun on, Ou-Yang records only five generations for a period of 300 years, and from Tsung on, he records eighteen generations for a period of only 140 years. Checking the list of Su, one notes the omission of Chang Shih from Chou, but we see him go as far upward as Lu-Chung and Kun-wu, and we feel once more its vagueness. It is difficult to rely entirely upon them.

The Lu family originates from the imperial family of the Yuan. However, their genealogical register does not go back that far. It reads: "(Reverentially) we dare not to look at the emperor as our ancestor. Our family name Lu started with Lu Hsien, the ancestor of the third generation. However, our first ancestor was Prince of An Ting during the Yuan. This is recorded in the genealogical lists of the Yuan dynasty, and so there is no need to investigate it again. Those who recorded the original name would not have noted it without having proof."

We start with the first section of the genealogical register.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

Primordial Ancestor	T'o Huan
Second generation	Kung-pu-shih-tieh
Two sons: Ah-shih-tu succeeded, died soon, Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded	
Third generation	Hsien
Fourth generation	Chien
Fifth generation	Lin
Sixth generation	Chin
Seventh generation	Tung
Two sons: Tan succeeded, died soon, Tung succeeded	
Eighth generation	Kuang-tsu
Cheng-wu son of Tan succeeded, died soon. Tung three more sons: Kuang-tsu, Kuang-hsien, Kuang-kuo; Kuang-tsu succeeded	

* Yuan Shih, 107, 3b, 6a-b, 24, 27b, 113.

river of Tatung was so swollen that boats and rafts ^{175x} could not cross. Ju Kao spent more than 1,000 taels, calling artisans to build a floating bridge with his own wood. The army could reach Hsining in time to save the city.

1874. When the revolt was quelled he was favored by a report sent to the emperor by the viceroy, explaining the circumstances of the rescue of Hsining and the recovering of the subprefecture of Tatung. Ju Kao received a laudatory imperial order and the titles of provincial commandant-in-chief, and of Courageous Patulu.

1876. On the twenty-second of the fifth moon Shu was born to a concubine of Ju Kao. Shu later succeeded as t'u-ssu, the first lady having no issue.

1883. Imperial order of the twelfth moon:

Lu Ju Kao, high commandant of Chuang Lang, since the t'u-ssu submitted to the empire, they have unceasingly received official duties, have commanded their troops and administered their tribes. You are the grandson of Lu Chi Hsun. According to the former rules, I order you to succeed to the hereditary office, to command the troops and administer the tribes. (Lu Chi Hsun, his father, had died in 1851. It had been said that Ju Kao succeeded in 1852, but now he received in 1883 the official nomination.) Receive with reverence this unusual favor. Try to comfort your subjects, make them happy, provide for their needs, control your subjects, prevent inroads of brigands. [Then the injunctions continue the same as the previous ones.]

1893. On the twenty-first of the third moon Ju Kao died. My father's style name was Wan Ch'ing, his posthumous title Chen Wei. He is buried in the cemetery of Shang Hsiang T'ang. (Thanks to this text we know that the writer of the additional two pages was Shu, the son of the concubine of Ju Kao who later fulfilled the t'u-ssu office.)

The wife of Ju Kao kept the seals.

1895. The twentieth of the fourth moon Shu succeeded. The wife of Ju Kao died on the eighteenth of the ninth moon.

1897. The eighteenth of the twelfth moon the noble lady was buried at Shang Hsiang T'ang (after two years).

BIOGRAPHIES (LIEH CHUAN)

PREFACE

The name Lieh Chuan started (to be used) with Ssu-Ma Ch'ien. Biographies constitute historical material. Authors in the past did not write biographies for private individuals. ^{173x}
¹¹⁴

During the Tang dynasty, Han (Yu) Ch'ang-li composed the biographies of Lu Chih and Yang Ch'eng, which were incorporated in the Hsun-tsung-shih-lu. Liu Tsung-yuan composed the biography of Tuan T'ai-wei. He did not call it "chuan" but "chuang" (memoir). Li Ao composed the Chuan of Lu T'an, but Fang Pao scorned him.

Since the historians had lost their original profession, 175^x
those appointed in the bureau of the archives became 114
the disciples of T'an Pai-lu (and no longer composed
biographies). From that time on the people were com-
pelled to compose their family biographies themselves,
to fill this want. Then, among the vulgar were people
who liked to spend money to glorify their ancestors
(by means of biographies). Those, among those schol-
ars, who liked to profit from their wealth, tucked up
their sleeves to write. They filled pages with falsities
and errors, so that their writings were untrustworthy.

In our family, from the Ming time on, each genera-
tion took up arms to defend the frontiers, our women
and girls ardently practiced love for the country and
justice in order to glorify (the country). However,
the official history of the Ming did not record their
deeds.

In what was recorded in our family history some
events were confusing. Again we added (new facts)
and eliminated (others). We followed the rules of the
biographies in order to provide secure material to the
official historians in the future. We dared not add
(falsities), embellish (the facts), or deceive (the peo-
ple), in order not to defile the glory of the anterior
generations, and provide the descendants a text whose
veracity may be checked.

We start with the third section which contains biog-
raphies.

SIRE T'O HUAN, THE ORIGINAL ANCESTOR 175^x

Sire T'o Huan was a member of the imperial family
of the Yuan.

In 1313 Emperor Jen Tsung bestowed upon him the
dignity of Prince of An Ting. Successively, he served
several emperors and was renowned for his faithfulness
and zeal. During the Chih-yuan period (1335-1341)
brigands arose (as numerous) as insects. At the time
of the Ming Emperor T'ai Tsung, the brigands of Kansu
entered the valley of the Huai. After a few years their
bands were exterminated and pacified.

In 1368 Emperor T'ai Tsung sent Su Ta, Ch'ang Yu-
chuan, and other commanders, to pacify the north with
the army. Wherever they arrived the people met them
and surrendered. Sire T'o Huan was grieved, cried
and said, "The empire is lost." At that time, orders
of the empire were not obeyed beyond some hundred
li of both capitals. The army was inferior in number
(to that of the enemy) and enfeebled, incapable of
taking the offensive or of staying on the defensive.
Sire T'o Huan, in cooperation with officers of the im-
perial guard commanding exhausted troops, day and
night fortified and guarded the capital. Besides the
famine and lack of food in the city, there was no hope
of getting provisions or rescue. The officers stimulated
the courage (of the troops) by means of the example of
their faithfulness and fidelity. Everybody was happy
to expend his forces.

with the same foes; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge to pass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Haining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng.

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the clan for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time an opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-szu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family.

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang.

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas.

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers.

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*563 over his sister's children. His rights in this regard are manifested
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604 mainly in three cases: (1) upon the natural death of his sister's
children, they cannot be buried without his permission. The
maternal uncle is considered "master of the bones" of the deceased,
and has the right to permit the burial, to impede it or to prevent
it. (2) If they have been murdered or have committed suicide,
he is required to initiate and execute vengeance for the blood of
his sister's child. (3) When they are subject to punishment for
violating the society's rules, the maternal uncle must punish the
children of his sister. Such punishment may range from capital
to very minor terms.

N
*563 Divorce is extremely rare among the Mongours. So, too, are
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586 cases of repudiation or desertion by the husband. Schram does
not mention the way in which a divorce is finalized, nor how long
a waiting period, if any, after divorce before remarriage is per-
mitted.

N
*563 Cases of adultery are extremely rare in Mongour society.
M
837 The people are engrossed constantly with the problem of making
a living, and they have little time for complicated affairs. The
close physical proximity of life in an extended family makes it
extremely difficult for anyone's lengthy absence or a stranger's
presence in the home to go unnoticed. Schram concludes that
"The morality of the Mongours who live in villages and are occu-
pied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that
of the nomad Mongols. Mongour families on the average seemed
to me to be happy families that work hard but enjoy life."